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Stakeholder preference mapping: the case for built heritage of Georgetown, Malaysia

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Abstract

Purpose (limit 100 words)

While there is an established body of literature that discusses the importance of stakeholder management, and also the need for involvement of *all* stakeholders so that all values of a heritage site can be captured in a heritage management plan, the concepts are not generally developed in ways that make them useful in practice. This research seeks to bring greater clarity to the practice of stakeholder engagement in built heritage, so that organisations can manage their stakeholders in ways that meet their strategic goals. This study proposes a novel method to identify stakeholders, a stakeholder preference mapping approach, which will depict their influence on decisions based on a of power-interest scale.

Design/methodology/approach

This research posits a stakeholder preference mapping approach. Virtual Stakeholder Groups (VSG) were identified and stakeholder's significance impacts were measured using the RIBA Plan of Work 2013 to determine in-depth consideration of each stakeholder's power and interest against differing stages of a heritage project. Participants were convened through a 5-day workshop, consisting of twenty Malaysian and nineteen international participants (80% academics and 20% Malaysian civil servants). The Multi-Attribute Decision Analysis (MADA) technique was then used to

demonstrate how stakeholder identification and analysis can be used to help heritage teams meet their mandates.

Findings (limit 100 words)

The research identified 8 virtual VSG (Extremist, Expert, Economic, Social, Governance and Tourists) and their scale of power-interest influence at different stages of the heritage management process. The findings reveal varying levels of engagement from each of the different groups of stakeholders at each work stage – with Stage 5 (Construction) being the least engaged.

Originality/value (limit 100 words)

It is anticipated that through stakeholder preference mapping, heritage teams can increase the robustness of their strategies by identifying and effectively managing the important concepts; heritage teams can effectively manage the interface between the many (often competing) demands of differing stakeholders. Using Georgetown as a case study, the research team were able to delineate the interaction and interplay between the various stakeholders in the complex decision-making processes for a UNESCO heritage site. Applying the RIBA 2013 Plan of Work as a framework to the heritage management process enables a formalised mapping approach to the process.

1. Introduction

The preservation of built heritage - historical buildings, monuments and/or structures – is usually protected statutory by legislation such as the Ancient Monument Act, Archaeological Areas Act, Monument Ordonantie and National Heritage Act (Prentice, 1993; UNESCO, 2020). Such recognition is granted when the built structure(s) is deemed to foster historic significance or architectural merit (Historic England, 2020), and as a result, the legislation leads to an increase in the awareness, protection, preservation, restoration and the display of its heritage properties (Mariani and Guizzardi, 2020). However, increased awareness in conservation does not always translate into improved protection and preservation, and can impact adversely on some communities/stakeholders.

Freeman (1994) defines stakeholders as ‘any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the [organisation’s] objectives,’ whereas Eden and Ackermann (1998) state that stakeholders are ‘people or small groups with the power to respond to, negotiate with, and change the strategic future.’ With respect to built heritage, defining stakeholders is consequential, as it affects ‘who’ and ‘what’ counts (Bryson, 2004; Mitchell *et al.*, 1997) in order to create and sustain effective heritage management. Conflict in heritage is predicated on a number of fronts, examples

include: power versus powerlessness (Abakerli, 2001), conservation versus development or exploitation (Holder, 2000), economic/social gain, and cultural and/or environmental degradation (Gossling, 2002; Turk *et al.*, 2019). All stakeholders must be engaged in built heritage planning to increase the quality of planning and reduce the likelihood of conflict, and to ensure that strategies remain intact over time, to increase the community's ownership of heritage through education, and to enhance the community's trust in heritage management (Hall and McArthur, 1998; Fatoric and Seekamp, 2018). Ironically, whilst the term 'stakeholder' is commonly used in heritage management, there is relatively scant literature available on how to systematically identify and analyse their needs (Bryson, 2004), particularly as their needs develop and evolve over time.

This research uses the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) World Heritage Site of Georgetown (in Penang, Malaysia) as a case study. In contrast, in Bakri's (2015) study on Georgetown, the stakeholders were identified based on their expertise, role, knowledge, experience and position, but only focused merely on three stakeholder groups: namely the local authority, the heritage manager and a local conservator. To the novice reader, it appears that many stakeholders were not consulted. Thus, this research utilises a stakeholder preference mapping approach to delineate the complexity of multi-stakeholder decision-making. The multi-attribute decision analysis (MADA) technique is fostered within an international workshop over a 5-day period. It is anticipated that through stakeholder preference mapping, heritage teams can increase the robustness of their strategies by attending to important concepts, and heritage teams can effectively manage the interface between the many (often competing) demands of differing stakeholders. While there is an established body of literature that discusses stakeholder management, the concepts are not generally developed in ways that make them useful in practice. This research seeks to bring greater clarity to the practice of stakeholder engagement in built heritage, so that organisations can manage their stakeholders in ways that meet their strategic goals.

2. Georgetown, Penang, Malaysia – UNESCO World Heritage Site

The designation of a 'World Heritage Site' (WHS) was coined in 1973. According to Poria *et al.* (2011), there are several reasons for nominating a site to be a WHS, some of which have almost nothing to do with conservation or preservation – the two elements that had been the original rationale. Often, the designation is used to attract tourists, bringing both direct and indirect revenues (Bandarin, 2005), however, it has been also found to have a negative effect on the heritage and distract stakeholders from curatorial goals (Garrod and Fyall, 2000).

Georgetown is the capital city of the Malaysian state of Penang, and is Malaysia's second largest city. Georgetown's historical core has been inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) since 2008. The WHS of Georgetown covers nearly 260

hectares, including a large eclectic assortment of shophouses, Hindu temples, Indian Muslim mosques, art deco town houses, Buddhist temples, Chinese clan houses, and colonial-era European mansion houses to name but a few. Its myriad of architectural styles is foreseen as unparalleled to any across East and Southeast Asia, demonstrating a succession of historical and cultural influences arising from the mercantile exchanges of Malay, Chinese and Indian cultures and three successive European colonial powers for almost 500 years – the Dutch, the Portuguese and the British (UNESCO, 2017). Chinese influences are mainly manifested in its shophouses, and can be identified in six main styles: early Penang, Southern-Chinese, early Straits, late Straits, Art Deco and the Modern style (Tan, 2015). British architecture is predominantly found in government administrative buildings such as the High Court, Penang State Assembly and Penang City Hall.

With the WHS inscription status, the city has experienced a rebirth in businesses and other socio-cultural activities, but the benefits are foreseen as a double-edged sword.

Inscription has resulted in a significant demand for properties, especially shophouses by investors – foreign investors. The increase in demand has driven up the price of heritage shophouses (Barron, 2017) and this has caused many of the traditional owners to sell for high profit to new conglomerate business owners. This approach clashes with local authority's preservation effort, led by the Heritage Department of the Local Council (City Council of Penang Island, 2020). The multinational business owners are generally interested in profit and are often not concerned if restoration meets heritage requirements (Khoo *et al.*, 2019), whilst the local authority and heritage NGOs strive to ensure that the heritage shophouses are preserved authentically to protect Georgetown and its historical heritage (GTWHI, 2020). The issue of conserving authentic architectural styles has ensued differing approaches by different stakeholders. The new business owners are often only interested in ensuring that their premises are "instagrammable" heritage spots, but to the conservation architects, authenticity in the architectural details and style is of paramount importance. With opposing needs, the stakeholder holding the higher 'power' will win. In this case, the owner who is paymaster will almost always dominate decisions.

Similar tensions also occur between local authorities and building owners. Local authorities, in their duty to preserve the inscribed world heritage site of Georgetown, have set stringent regulations and procedures to examine applications for restoration and development in Georgetown. Day-to-day management of Georgetown falls under the jurisdiction of local agencies of the city, whilst the management of heritage is led by George Town World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI). GTWHI is responsible for providing technical and professional input into heritage related matters and to veto heritage building planning applications and building planning approval (Khoo *et al.*, 2019). While regulations are in place to protect Georgetown's heritage, owners are of the opinion that they are too strict and restrictive, and they prohibit development. Owners are found frequently restoring without approval, to avoid complying with strict

and costly building requirements. The owner's rationale is that it is too expensive to conserve in accordance to the stipulated conservation principles, in short, they simply cannot afford the cost of restoration or upkeep of the heritage building. This problem is compounded by the fact that residents of heritage buildings are mostly from the lower income group or senior citizens (Lim *et al.*, 2014). Thus, due to the strict enforcement, many heritage buildings have become dilapidated as owners are unable to meet rising maintenance costs; or as previously described, sell to multinational organizations whom have little interest in maintaining the cultural and traditional community aspects of Georgetown. As such, gentrification is widespread in the city which is leading to the loss of traditional economic activities caused by foreign buyers that convert the heritage shophouses into new businesses (Khoo & Lim, 2019). This not only causes a change in the business landscape, which threatens the living heritage of the city, but it also affects the architectural authenticity when the business premises are renovated indiscriminately. This is clearly a cyclic cause-and-effect.

Although the State advocates public participation in the planning of Georgetown, implementation of this practice is limited. Lim *et al.* (2014) conducted a study conducted prior to the inscription of Georgetown as a heritage city and found that the community was neither consulted nor were their preferences sought when the Government of Malaysia applied to be listed as a UNESCO's WHS. Following the inscription, the city has accelerated the processes of conservation and preservation of both the physical as well as socio-cultural environments. However, the needs and preference of some stakeholders have often been neglected. This is evident by the number of protests by some heritage groups, such as those concerned over the displacement of long-standing tenant residents; which is a direct result of the colossal number of sales of heritage buildings sold for the conversion from residential to commercial projects that reap greater return-on-investments (Barron, 2017). Conflict between heritage stakeholders is commonplace, as reported by Bakri *et al.* (2012), whom report that conflicts happen amongst stakeholders due to differing directions, perspective of seeing things and having different approaches. To address this, stakeholder theory advocates the inherent need to 'manage' stakeholders (Freeman, 2010) to improve performance and profits. From the issues highlighted above, it can be seen that each stakeholder group has their own agenda, and that this influences their decision and preference on a certain action. We recognize that the interactions between stakeholders are complex and intertwined, and therefore we first need to map the stakeholders in heritage management and to identify how each stakeholder influences the decisions at different stages of the management process.

3. Managing Stakeholders

Arnstein (1969) introduces "ladder of citizen participation" in which levels of participation are arranged in a ladder pattern, with each rung corresponding to the extent of a citizen's power in determining a plan or program. Arnstein expounded the concept of redistribution of authority that enables citizens who have been previously

excluded from political and economic processes to be included in the future. This concept is popular in town and urban planning where the public participation allows citizens to participate in the mechanism of town and urban planning of their area.

The recognition of a wider range of stakeholder in an organisation was propounded by Freeman (2010). Freeman explained that stakeholder theory was concerned with the problem of value creation and trade. He posits that in a business organisation, stakeholders are not only the shareholders but should include other parties that can impact the company. There is no standard list of stakeholders, it can range from employees of a business, to communities and non-governmental groups. The stakeholder theory posits that by managing stakeholders, businesses will have greater productivity. More too, as stakeholders are valued, the value of the business grows.

Thus, incorporating stakeholder theory in the context of heritage management is key for success: identifying stakeholders and clarifying their interests, values, and identities (Myers *et al.*, 2016). Myers *et al.* (2016) also acknowledged that there are multiple stakeholders involved in each heritage site and the challenge to identify all stakeholders. Heritage management should seek to respect and achieve coexistence of multiple stakeholders and to avoid open conflict of the denial of some values (Australia ICOMOS, 1998).

An example of successful stakeholder engagement in heritage management is for the city of Angkor, Cambodia (Myers *et al.*, 2016), where engagement with local communities resulted in a management plan that supported the conservation of all heritage values, including local Cambodian spiritual, cultural and social values, rather than emphasizing on one set of heritage values – namely, World Heritage values. In the development of heritage management plans, most studies dictate engagement with stakeholders plays an important part in understanding and accepting the value of heritage (Aas *et al.*, 2005, Hajialikhani, 2008, Bakri *et al.*, 2015,).

4. Methodology

To identify stakeholders and to determine their influence on the decisions at different stages of the management process for heritage management of the UNESCO site of Georgetown, an international workshop was convened through the Newton-Ungku Omar Workshop Grant supported by the British Council UK and the Science Academy of Malaysia [Akademi Sains Malaysia (ASM)] in Georgetown, Penang, Malaysia. The 5-day workshop involved thirty-nine carefully selected participants – consisting of twenty Malaysian participants and nineteen international participants from 6 countries. The Malaysian participants were selected based on their heritage technical expertise and understanding of the prevailing situation in Georgetown. In total, 80% of participants were academics and 20% were from Governmental Departments whom all were working or researching into engineering/technical aspects of heritage,

including: building pathology, architectural heritage, heritage management, conservation studies, tourism management and archeology.

The workshop adopted a dual-aim approach, to both identify and to develop a stakeholder preference map. The workshop began with the introduction of local issues in Penang from various public and private stakeholders with specific interest in heritage preservation. This followed with a series of linked key themes derived from literature that represented problematic issues for the strategic management of heritage stakeholders. In doing so, participants were divided into 6 groups (randomly mixed), and were asked to:

- Firstly, to identify the various stakeholders that would be prevalent in 8 differing 'virtual stakeholder groups' (VSG). The objective of this approach was to identify who the stakeholders really are in a specific situation rather than relying on generic stakeholder lists. Recognising the uniqueness of a heritage's context and its goals allows users to identify '*specific stakeholders*' and be clear about their '*significance*.' In doing so, participants were to also identify each stakeholder's interest and determine whether they were directly internal or external to the project.
- Secondly, to determine stakeholder preference mapping, participants were asked to ascertain '*how*' and '*when*' an individual stakeholder's significance impacts, which itself is determined through in-depth consideration of each stakeholder's power to, and interest in, influence the direction of heritage against differing stages of a heritage project, using the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Plan of Work 2013 (RIBA, 2017) as a guide. Referring to Table 1, although the RIBA Plan of Work is designed primarily to describe the work stages for a construction project, it can be applied to describe conceptually the management of a heritage site. The different stages of preparing a heritage management plan is adapted to the RIBA framework to show the synchronicity of these two processes. It enables the mapping of the power-interest of stakeholders according to the different stages of work.
- Mitchell *et al.* (1997) state that working with a number of stakeholders can be bewilderingly complex. A power-interest grid is widely used in a myriad of industries and can be used to assist in balancing the need to take a broad definition of stakeholders whilst still yielding manageable numbers (Guðlaugsson *et al.*, 2020; Olander and Landin, 2005). The power-interest grid is presented in Figure 1 (Reason, 1997). The four quadrants define four categories of stakeholder, namely: stakeholders in the upper quadrants are those with the majority stake (interest) but with varying degrees of power – the top right having more power (influence) to influence (or sabotage) the project; and the lower quadrants are seen as 'potential' stakeholders that may influence the project at a later stage (Ackermann and Eden, 2011). Thus, participants were asked to rate each stakeholder identified for each VSG in terms of their power and influence using a 1-5 scale (where 1 constituted low power or

influence, and 5 a high power or influence) in that of all the RIBA Plan of Work stages.

Through rating stakeholder's power and interest using a 5-point scale against the RIBA Plan of Work (Table 1) in 8 differing VSGs, the multi-attribute decision analysis (MADA) technique was used to develop stakeholder preference mapping. MADA assists in decision-making from the assessment of options and alternatives available, and where each option has its advantages and disadvantages. These are evaluated in terms of multiple attributes. The application of MADA has been successfully adopted by numerous researchers (for example Dutta and Hussain (2009), Ferretti and Comino (2015) and Wu *et al.* (2007)), and is a favoured approach to explicitly evaluate multiple conflicting criteria in decision-making. Heritage management is riddled with complexity and inter determinacy, and proves difficult under uncertainty, to which MADA is aptly suited.

During the workshop, roundtable discussions were held among the 6 groups – discussions evolved around MADA (or multi-criteria analysis) techniques, which is used to identify the single most preferred option, to rank options and to shortlist a limited number of options for subsequent detailed appraisal, or simply to distinguish acceptable from unacceptable possibilities. The main role of this technique is to deal with the difficulties that is associated with decision-making, which has proven to be successful in handling large amounts of complex information in a consistent way. The decisions of each Group were decided, marked, scored and weighted, before rotating to another Group. The compensatory MCA technique is deployed as low scores on one attribute may be compensated by high scores by another, where the combined scores on criteria and relevant weights between criteria, is to calculate a simple weighted average of scores. A final meeting involving all participants was held to obtain a final group consensus.

[insert Table 1 here]

[insert Figure 1 here]

5. Stakeholder groups

Roundtable discussions and debates were held among the 6 groups in the workshop. The novelty of a mix cohort of national and international researchers brought different dimensions of expertise and understating in local heritage, along with international perspectives and future direction of Georgetown. Groups in the workshop identified eight virtual stakeholder groups – 'forget about the past' (VSG1), 'nationalism and security threat averse' (VSG2), 'local social-economic motivate' (VSG3), 'need history in architectural mix' (VSG4), 'competition driven' (VSG5), 'aesthetics driven' (VSG6), 'heritage enthusiasts' (VSG7), and 'fanatics' (VSG8). It is perceived that each VSG

will typically represent all stakeholder perspectives at large, each of which have differing competing objectives and descriptions, as described below.

Forget about the past (VSG1): This group takes a predominantly view that heritage is the past and is to be avoided, and remains sceptical of claims of historical importance or relational facts on future growth and development – the past needs to be erased for the community to move ahead.

Nationalism and security threat averse (VSG2): This VSG believe that the greatest threat is from misappropriation of the spirit of nationalism, or otherwise. The main drivers are to minimize and the preserve threats of past imperialism. Any reincarnation of the past is viewed at glorification of past colonial powers (e.g. the British, Dutch, Portuguese and Japanese occupation), hence, unacceptable for the nation to move forward.

Local social-economic motivate (VSG3): They are motivated by the perceived socio-economic value of tangible and intangible heritage facilities/ artefacts, with the desire to maintain or attract processes which will underpin or enhance employment opportunities and associated local community well-being.

Need history in architectural mix (VSG4): This group believes that the past is important and there is a gap between architectural ascetics. Having undertaken a review of the heritage portfolio, the group considers that alternative architectural and conservation measures will address the gap and desire for a hybrid of architectural ideology.

Competition driven (VSG5): This VSG, takes a view dominated by the cost-price-value perspective, and will argue for heritage provided that it is achieved in a competitive market. From the policy side, the group will support the removal of barriers to the achievement of the necessary investment but will be quick to object if this appears to strays into a monopoly/ government. The group will highly value economic parameters and will be confident that public, safety and heritage will be assured by the existing regulatory regimes.

Aesthetics driven (VSG6): They are motivated by the aesthetics of heritage. They perceive that the 'look and feel' of heritage as the only driver for the longevity of facilities/ artefacts. The group will be especially sensitive towards any replacement designs or alternative materials – any works to be done must be conducted at its original form.

Heritage enthusiasts (VSG7): This group believes in the rehabilitation, refurbishment or retrofit of heritage. Redevelopment is highly regarded as a safeguard towards any historical value of facilities/ artefacts. They are willing to reconsider decisions based on costs or regulatory regimes.

Fanatics (VSG8): All heritage facilities/ artefacts must be retained and maintained regardless of circumstances. The group believes that they are part of the history and it should be treated as another human being. There are no boundaries and endless possibilities towards their vision.

6. Findings

Workshop participants were firstly asked to identify which stakeholders would be prevalent within each VSG. The VSGs were purposely diverse to ensure that all potential stakeholders would be identified. Responses received were mixed across all VSG categories. The identified stakeholders were subsequently grouped into the following type of stakeholder: 'extremist', 'expert', 'economic', 'social', 'governance' and 'tourists', as in Figure 2. The Expert group stakeholders was found to consist of heritage, conservation, refurbishment or construction experts within the heritage domain, such as conservators, conservation architects, heritage specialists, craftsman, historians and academics. The Economic group is represented by businesses, investors, property developers, owner/ landlord, building user and insurers. Members of each normalised stakeholder groups are listed in Table 2.

[insert Figure 2 here]

[insert Table 2 here]

The workshop participants were then asked to rate each member of the normalised stakeholder's power and interest using a 5-point scale against the RIBA Plan of Work stages. The interest score was then multiplied against the power score for each stage of the RIBA to determine the overall influence score. This delineated preference mapping approach enables heritage stakeholders to be presented in a manner that their strategic goals can be met.

The Governance, Social and Economic stakeholder groups power and interest mainly lies from project start (RIBA stages 0-2) and project completion (RIBA stages 5-7). Within the Governance group (see Figure 3), the power and interest of governing bodies, such as the State Government (Penang) and Federal Government (Malaysia) diminishes after Stage 3, while the UNESCO increases exponentially towards the end of the process. UNESCO's influence maximised in Stage 7 is seen as being the inspection stage towards WHS assessment and award. Politicians is seen to be more influential at Strategic Definition and In Use stages; and the State Government is seen to have more power and influence over the Federal Government.

[insert Figure 3 here]

The Economic group is predominately influenced by property owners and/ or landlords during the beginning and completion of the project (see Figure 4). They are seen as the project drivers as they have control over the finances and proprietorship of the property, and naturally are foreseen to have the greatest power over the project, as they control the finance and are the ultimate decision maker. On the other hand, property developers are perceived to have little influence throughout the project, except during the construction stage. Local businesses and building users are predicated to have notable power and interest at the start and end of the project,

commonly associated with input into any consultation at project commence, and feedback following project completion. Insurance companies are foreseen to have little interest and power, except for RIBA Stage 6 (handover) whereby any conditions would need to be met by stakeholders to ensure that the building is insurable thereafter.

[insert Figure 4 here]

As a group, the Social stakeholders were identified to have little power and interest during the design stages (RIBA stages 2-4) of the project (see Figure 5). Conversely, their power and interest are pivotal at the initiation of any project (RIBA stage 0) and during use/ operation (RIBA stage 7). As a group, and with little or no governance over resources, social stakeholders such as religious/ ethic groups and the local community are only strategically engaged by the project team at particular points in a heritage project.

[insert Figure 5 here]

The Expert stakeholders were seen to have varied power and interest influence, and was foreseen to be involved as and when they were directly employed to be engaged on a heritage project (see Figure 6), which is why their power and interest rating varied considerably. For example, a historian is typically employed during the briefing and design stage (RIBA stage 1-2), and their role is usually succeeded by specialist experts, such as conservationists or heritage specialists as and when necessary.

[insert Figure 6 here]

In summary, Figure 7 shows the power and interest influence of all six of the normalised stakeholder groups. It is clear within each grouping, stakeholder's influences vary. Figure 7 shows that overall, all stakeholder groups, with exception of only the Extremist group, typically follow a similar pattern, with influence having a limited impact during the construction period (RIBA stage 5). It was also acknowledged by the workshop participants that the Extremist group (generally comprised of environmentalist protestors) usually held significant sway during on-site construction phase (RIBA Stage 5), however, they were not always prevalent on every project, and particularly not those in Georgetown, hence why their power and influence was rated low. It was also noted it was difficult to engage with this group, as more often or not, heritage teams would receive no prior engagement than protests during site works. Those groups that relate to governance or finance generally have more power and interest. The Tourism group, as expected, followed by the Social group, would have the least influence generally given their periodic and scant involvement in the built heritage.

[insert Figure 7 here]

Discussion

The above findings aptly describe the potential level of engagement with various stakeholders of Georgetown as a World Heritage Site. The study found that the Economic stakeholder group would have little influence. UNESCO (2017) states that the stakeholders that would bear the highest impact due to the inscription was not consulted nor directly involved in the nomination; these stakeholders were the owner/landlord, residents (be it owner or tenant) and property developer, all of whom fall into the Economic stakeholder group. Having said that, notable power and interest is still detected during the start and end of a project for the Economic stakeholder group. This is seen in the restoration of private historic buildings where the stakeholders from the Economic and Social group will have high interest or power in the early RIBA work stages. For the Economic group, whom are usually the owners that are involved in the refurbishment or restoration works of their building and therefore, would have high power and interest.

For the Social group, it is usually NGOs that object to restoration, especially if the changes affect the authenticity of the heritage architecture. There have been many examples of this in Georgetown, such as the Metropole-Asdang house, where local conservationists and heritage enthusiasts created an uproar over its demolition until the local authorities ordered the demolished heritage house to be rebuilt (Loh-Lim, 2011). In another example, Penang NGOs took on the Federal Justice Department to halt a 7-storey extension to its heritage courthouse building. During the preparation of the nomination dossier, engagement was only made with a small number of local heritage NGOs from the Social group. Other stakeholders from the Social group, namely immigrants, older generation, local communities, cultural artists and religious/ethnic groups were purposely excluded from the consultation process. This corresponds with the findings of this study where the Social stakeholder group were found to have little power and interest during RIBA stages 2-4 but their power and interest are pivotal at the initiation of any project (RIBA stage 0).

Problems deriving from this lack of engagement with the entire range of stakeholders became evident upon the inscription of Georgetown as a heritage site. The residents and owners of properties in Georgetown (Social and Economic group) were caught by surprise with the announcement. Findings from a survey administered in 2006 found that the residents of Georgetown were split in the middle in terms of the decision of whether to conserve the city or not to conserve, and the authors attributed this factor to the lukewarm participation by the Social and Economic stakeholders in the conservation effort implemented by the State Government (Tan and Fang, 2007). The lack of engagement with stakeholders, especially with those that are directly impacted by the inscription, caused them to fear the heritage status. In the early stages of the inscription, many owners were fearful of the cost of maintaining the heritage building and were also unhappy with the restrictions laid down for the protection of the buildings in the heritage core and buffer zones. The heritage site status which is supposed to protect heritage buildings, has caused the rise of illegal demolitions of buildings in the

heritage zone. In the same survey by Tan and Fang (2007), it was found that although half of the residents of Georgetown support conservation, the State Government had a difficult time convincing the other 50% of the residents to conserve. This is the group that wanted a modern city with a '*Manhattan*' skyline instead of a heritage site.

Even within the stakeholders that support conservation, the intention of conserving Georgetown is not clearly understood. This is seen in the indiscriminate restoration of buildings which clearly did not follow conservation guidelines and regulations. The owners are largely only interested in reaping the economic benefits from the heritage status and are not concerned with the fact that indiscriminate restoration poses a threat to the architectural authenticity of buildings in Georgetown which will affect criterion (iv) of the Outstanding Universal Value. This shows that without 'stakeholder engagement' at the very beginning, the management of built heritage is a never-ending uphill battle.

The perception of the residents started to change as noted in a second study conducted in 2012 (Lim *et al.*, 2014). The second study is an extension of the 2006 study, and aims to understand the residents' attitudes and preferences 6 years after the first study. The 2012 study found a 12% increase in the agreement to conserve the properties in Georgetown as compared to the study in 2006, and demonstrated a raising of awareness programmes and other heritage-based activities have positively influenced the perspectives of the residents towards historic buildings. The study also identified that all three categories of respondents, namely: owners, tenants and others (workers/relatives), unanimously agreed that it is important to protect historic buildings. Continuous engagement with stakeholders since the inscription is seen to bring about such changes and the preference for a heritage city has increased from 45% in 2006 to 64% in the second study in 2012 (Lim *et al.*, 2014).

In this study, stakeholders in the Governance group, namely the city council, have very high power in stages 0-2 and 5-7 because they are the approving authority for any type of restoration works. Naturally, the core requirement for any heritage works could be dictated by conservation guidelines as adopted by the city council, and thus the Governance group has high power status in stage 0 of the RIBA work stages. However, once approval is given, the authority will only act as monitoring body and will only be involved again if there is any problem. Thus, their power reduces in stages 3-4. During RIBA stage 6, the authorities will be actively engaged again to check and certified that the restoration works are done in accordance to the conservation guidelines.

The stakeholders in the Expert group will most likely act as consultant or advisor to the owners and thus would also be held in a high interest/power position. The finding shows that the level of power/interest of the Expert group is quite consistent throughout the work stages except during RIBA stage 5. This is reflective of the actual

involvement of Expert stakeholders in a project. It is normal practice in Georgetown where conservation architects undertake to prepare the project brief, concept design, developed design and technical design. However, at RIBA stage 5 when construction work commences, the power would shift to the contractors on site and the Expert stakeholder would only be monitoring the work. The involvement of Expert stakeholder rises again during stage 6 which is the handover of the completed building where the Expert stakeholder will have to inspect and certified work is satisfactorily completed. Similarly, the owner, i.e. the Economic or Social group engagement level rises again as they occupy and use the restored building. The engagement of Economic and Social group stakeholders reduced during RIBA stages 4, 5 and 6 because the Expert group's technical input is the most relevant during those stages.

In the case of Georgetown, the Extremist group interest is only stirred when they disagree with certain conservation project that may be implemented. This is usually during RIBA stages 1, 2, 3 and 4 when the project is undergoing the design stage. The Extremist group engagement is the highest in these stages as they would hope to stop or change the conservation project to suit their requirement. It is highest just before commencement of construction where usually there will be protest demonstration and council talk to try to influence the outcome of the conservation project. However, once the project commences, the Extremist group knows that they are powerless to influence the project and often loose interest as well. During RIBA stage 7, when the building is in-use, the Extremist group will again try to influence the use of the building and interest will again spike.

Notably, the Tourism group has low interest/power in the management/implementation of the conservation project, i.e. from RIBA stages 0 to 6. This is because they have no locus standi in all matters pertaining to Georgetown. Only when the Tourists are able to visit and view/use the heritage buildings, which is at RIBA stage 7, the interest/power to influence is high for the Tourism group as 'tourist money' may influence the use/function of the historic building.

Although the level of engagement with the different groups of stakeholders are different at the various work stages, it is important to ensure that there is constant and continuing engagement with various stakeholders. The study conducted by Lim *et al.* (2014) found that the management of built heritage improves due to the efforts of George Town World Heritage Incorporated (a state heritage agency set up in 2010 to spearhead efforts in safeguarding the Outstanding Universal Values of UNESCO Georgetown), various pro-heritage non-government organisations (i.e. Penang Heritage Trust) and the media is constantly creating awareness and technical support programmes to engage with stakeholders in the heritage site of Georgetown.

6. Conclusion

Thus, this paper advocates 'stakeholder engagement' for the effective management of built heritage. Stakeholder engagement is the practice of interacting with, and influencing project stakeholders to the overall benefit of the project and its advocates (APM, 2017). By contrast to stakeholder management, stakeholder engagement is rooted in influencing a variety of outcomes through consultation, communication, negotiation, compromise and relationship building. According to Cleland (1986), the management of a project's 'stakeholders' is defined by those individuals and organisations whom share a stake or an interest in the project. Thus, heritage teams must consider *all* those who have an interest in the project, and who, by definition, are also stakeholders. Stakeholders can be outside the authority of the project team. As stakeholder management assumes that success depends on taking into account the potential impact of project decisions on all stakeholders during the entire life of the project, they must also consider how the achievements of the project goals and objectives will affect or be affected by stakeholders outside their authority (Hirszenberger *et al.*, 2019).

This research has demonstrated that to effectively engage with stakeholders, they must firstly be identified and subsequently analysed, so that their (often competing) interests can be managed. A stakeholder preference mapping approach, using the UNESCO WHS Georgetown as a case study, demonstrated the plethora of project stakeholders (which the workshop participants were not always consulted in past projects), and their respective power and interest influence during varying stages of the heritage project. It is envisaged, engagement with stakeholders in this way in accordance to the mapping approach, heritage teams can increase the robustness of their strategies by attending to important concepts, and heritage teams can effectively manage the interface between the many (often competing) demands of differing stakeholders.

Using Georgetown as the case study has enabled the research team to delineate the interaction and interplay between the multitudes of stakeholders in the decision-making for the UNESCO heritage site. Prior to this study, the pattern of interaction among stakeholders is not obvious and the stakeholder engagement and management of Georgetown heritage site has not been studied in this manner.

The findings of this study identified six groups of stakeholders, namely 'Extremist', 'Expert', 'Economic', 'Social', 'Governance' and 'Tourists'. Out of the six groups, four groups are found to have clear relations, i.e. Expert-Economic-Social-Governance groups. Their engagement pattern is similar at the various RIBA work stages but the rating level of interest/ power are different for each group. This shows the differing degree of power each group has in influencing decision-making on the management of the heritage site. Two other groups, namely Extremist and Tourists groups, have no distinct links with each other or other groups. The Extremist group would like to influence decision-making in the management of heritage sites but more often than not, their protest will not be considered due to their extreme views and requests. While

the tourists group has no locus standi, it has indirect influence via the 'tourism money' that it generates for the economy of Georgetown.

After 10 years of being inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Site, Georgetown can provide a good example in the study of interaction and interplay among stakeholders in decision-making for the management of heritage site. The Stakeholder Preference Mapping approach presented in this paper is useful for existing as well as future heritage sites to use as their guide in managing engagement with stakeholders. Having the understanding of the different roles and influence by each stakeholder will enable an efficient engagement with stakeholders towards better management of heritage sites despite the often diverse and competing needs of the various stakeholders.

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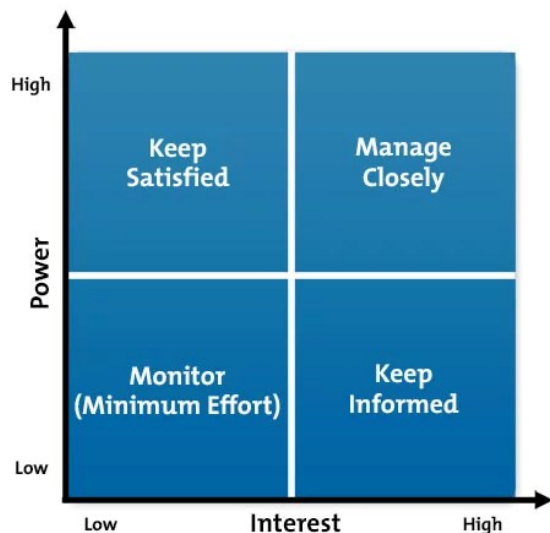


Figure 1: Power-interest grid (Reason, 1997)

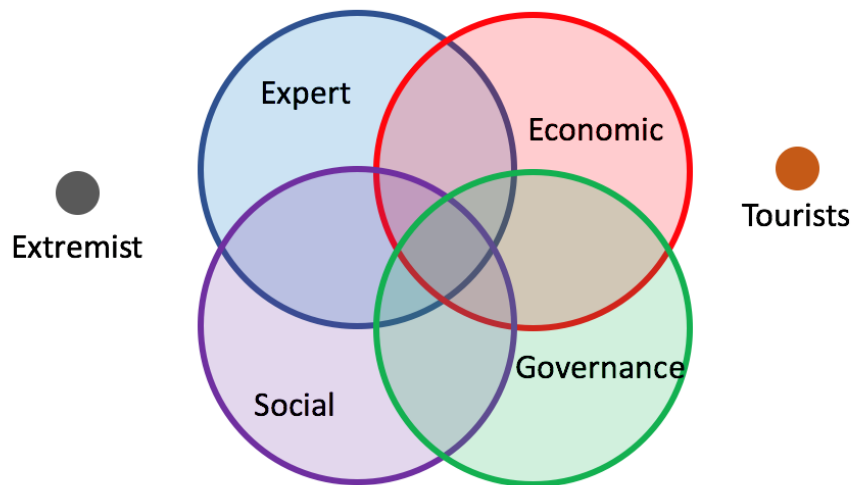


Figure 2: Relationships between different stakeholder groups

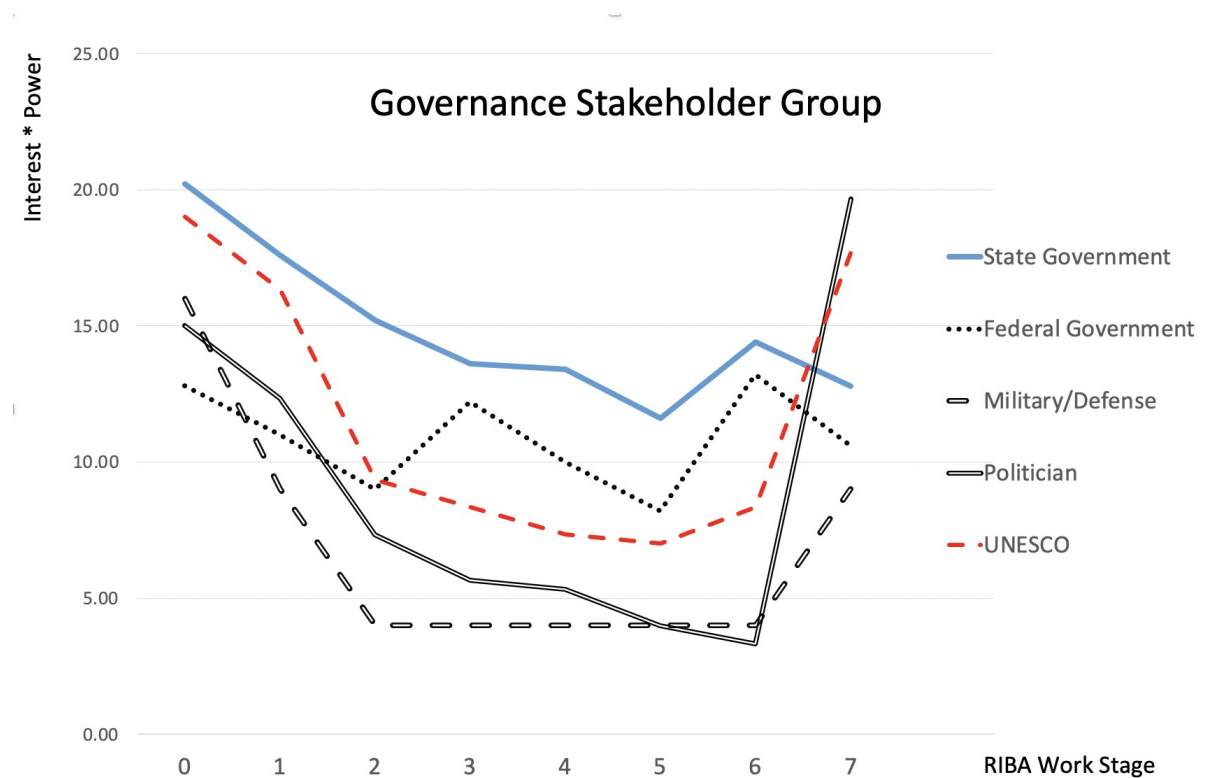


Figure 3: Power and interest rating of the Governance stakeholders by RIBA work stages

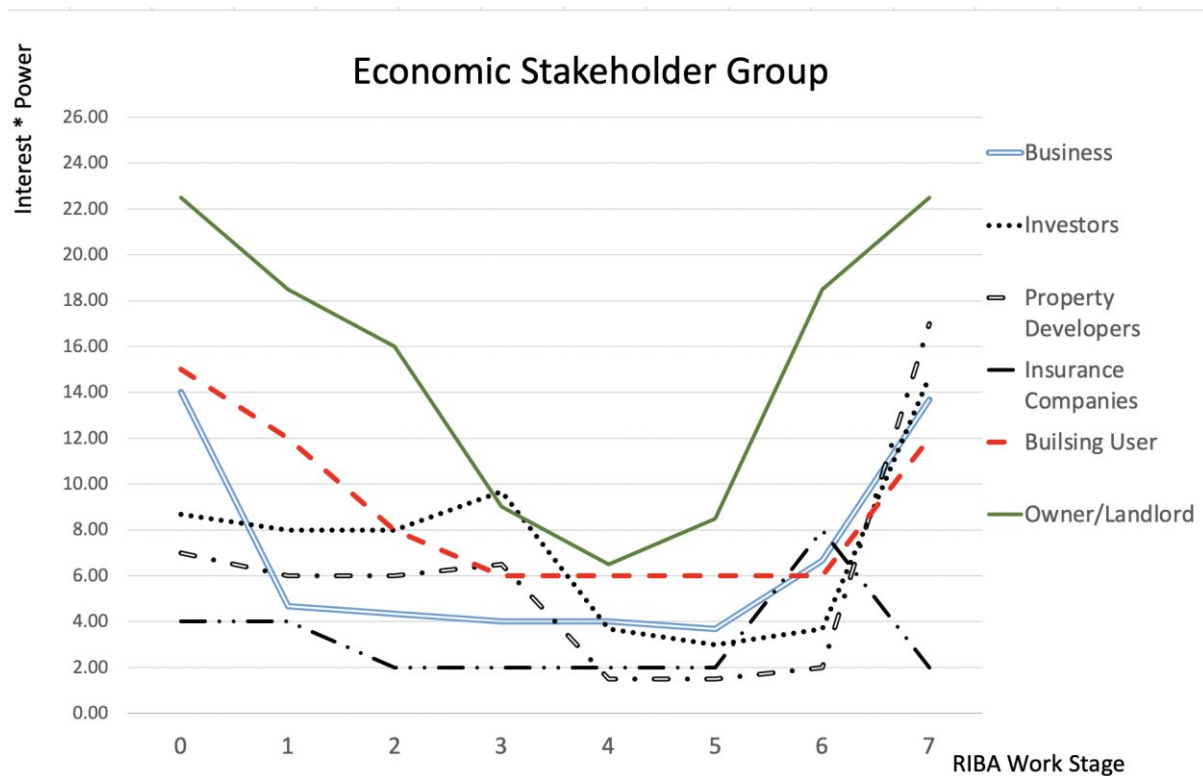


Figure 4: Power and interest rating of the Economic stakeholders by RIBA work stages

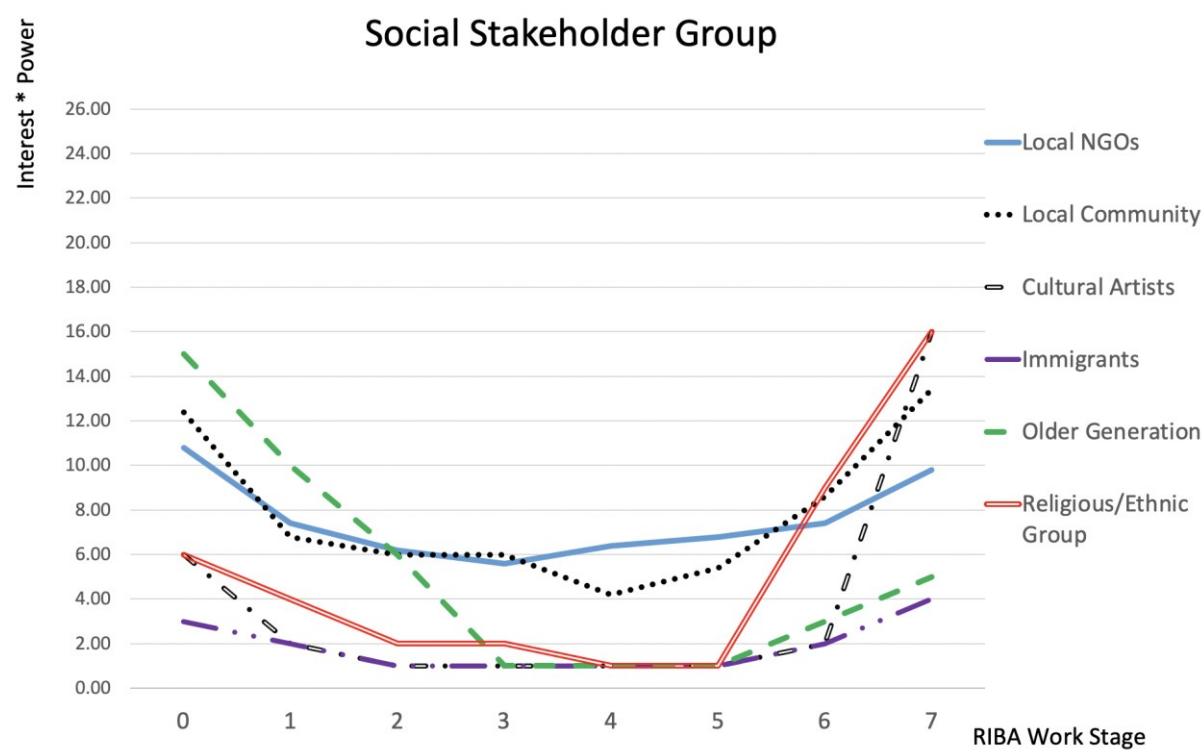


Figure 5: Power and interest rating of the Social stakeholders by RIBA work stages

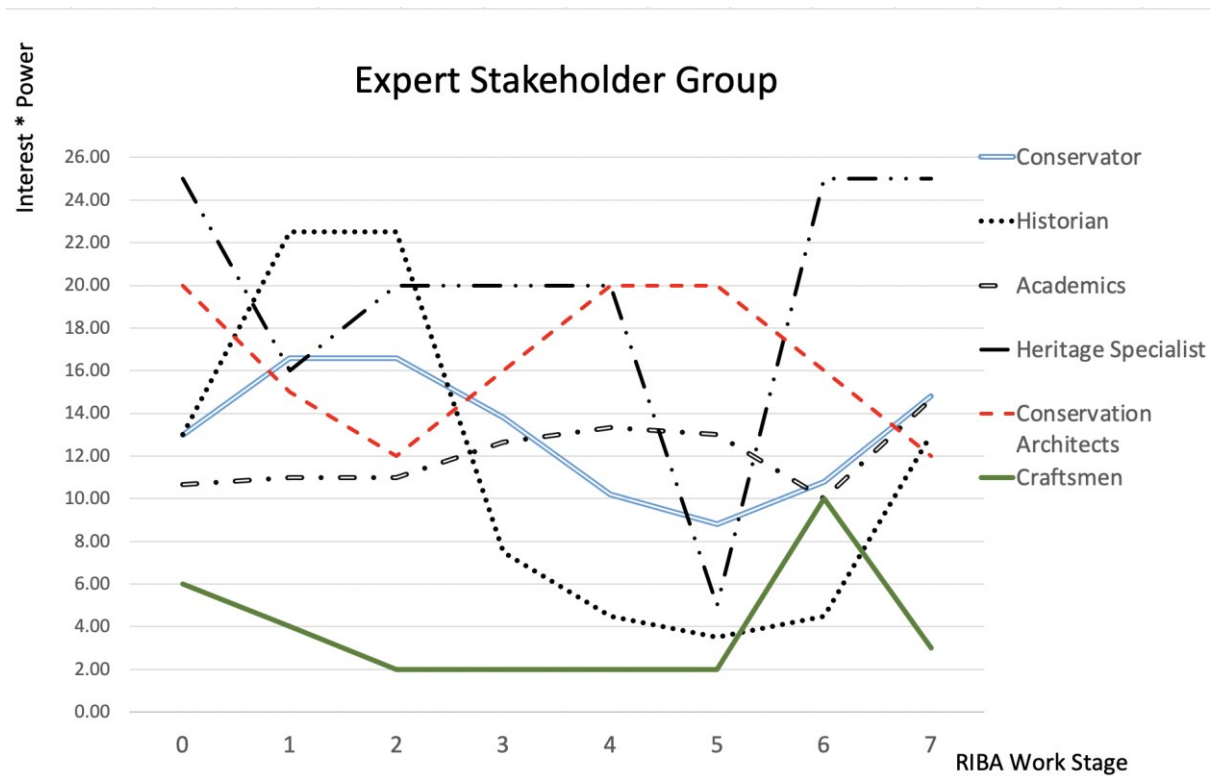


Figure 6: Power and interest rating of the Expert stakeholders by RIBA work stages

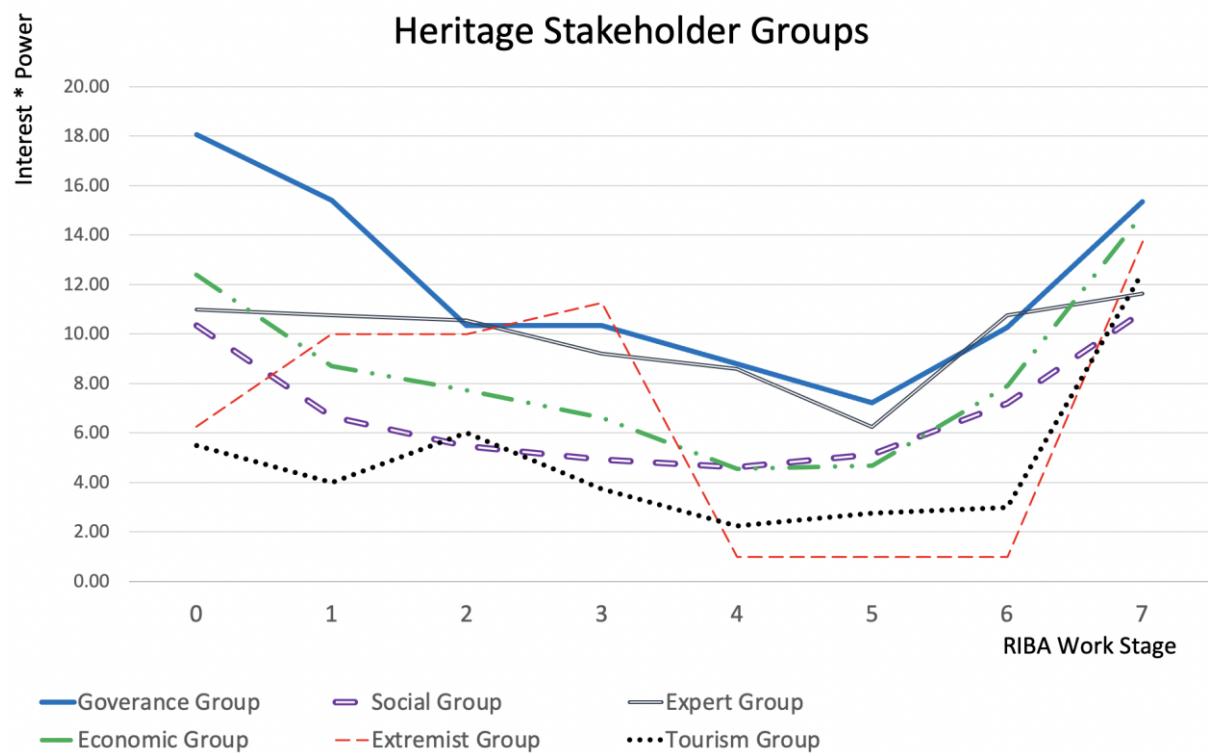


Figure 7: Power and interest rating of the normalised stakeholders' groups by RIBA work stages

RIBA Stages		Core Objectives	Adapting for management of conservation site*
Stage 0	Strategic definition	Identify client's Business Case and Strategic Brief and other core project requirements.	Agree the scope and purpose of the HMP
Stage 1	Preparation and brief	Develop Project Objectives, including Quality Objectives and Project Outcomes, Sustainability Aspirations, Project Budget, other parameters or constraints and develop Initial Project Brief. Undertake Feasibility Studies and review of Site Information.	Collect information and agree baseline condition
Stage 2	Concept design	Prepare Concept Design, including outline proposals for structural design, building services systems, outline specifications and preliminary Cost Information along with relevant Project Strategies in accordance with Design Programme. Agree alterations to brief and issue Final Project Brief.	Describe the property and assess its significance
Stage 3	Developed design	Prepare Developed Design, including coordinated and updated proposals for structural design, building services systems, outline specifications, Cost Information and Project Strategies in accordance with Design Programme.	Set aims and objectives to implement the undertakings
Stage 4	Technical design	Prepare Technical Design in accordance with Design Responsibility Matrix and Project Strategies to include all architectural, structural and building services information, specialist subcontractor design and specifications, in accordance with Design Programme.	Develop a work programme
Stage 5	Construction	Offsite manufacturing and onsite Construction in accordance with Construction Programme and resolution of	Monitor progress against the programme

		Design Queries from site as they arise.	
Stage 6	Handover and close out	Handover of building and conclusion of Building Contract.	
Stage 7	In use	Undertake in-use services in accordance with Schedule of Services.	Review at five-yearly intervals.

*Source: Preparing a Heritage Management Plan (Natural England, 2008)

Table 1: The RIBA Plan of Work stages (RIBA, 2017)

Expert group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservators • Conservation architects • Heritage specialists • Craftsmen • Historians • Academics 	Economic group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Businesses • Investors • Property developers • Owner/ Landlords • Building users • Insurance companies
Social group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrants • Older generation • Local NGOs • Local Communities • Cultural artists • Religious/ ethnic groups 	Governance group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal Government • State Government • Military/ Defence • Politician • UNESCO
Extremist group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anarchists • Futurists 	Tourist group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External international/ domestic tourists

Table 2: Normalised stakeholders within each stakeholder groups